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844 held behind on the hammock, and the woman assistant embraces her from behind. The umbilical cord is tied with cotton thread and cut with a small sliver of bamboo or canna brava. Even today an iron instrument is not used for this purpose. The wound is lightly cauterized, being touched once or twice with charcoal from a small tree gnawed round in circular fashion by a certain insect. The afterbirth is called na:ˈana/(mouth) "because the child in the maternal womb nourishes itself by it"; it is buried at the place of birth.

947 *Infanticide.*—Infanticide immediately after birth occurs, though rarely, and then usually of an unmarried woman's offspring, the child being buried alive. In general, the Tukuna consider it a great sin, which ta-ẽˈ will surely punish. An Indian I knew whose unmarried daughter became pregnant suspected her of planning infanticide and threatened her with death should she carry out her intention. Another reason for infanticide is that the child is "disqualified." For example, when dɔˈtanɨna had a child by a mestizo, the son of a Tukuna woman, her own father did not wish her to raise it, hence she buried it alive. After death an [775] infanticide ascends to heaven with the child's corpse held crosswise in her mouth, "like a bitch carrying her whelp."

842 Many Tukuna fathers show an exaggerated preference for male children, to the detriment of daughters. I once, quite intimately, observed the disgust of a couple with their first-born, merely because it was a girl; they became vexed to the point of planning to kill her some weeks after birth. However, the mother's brother, as protector of his niece, reproached and threatened the couple so unmistakably that they never again dared discuss the subject.

846 *After the birth.*—The newborn child's mouth is immediately cleansed and the 856 skull is manipulated, being pressed laterally between the fingers into the proper shape. The infant's body is washed in tepid water, the mother's in hot water. With a little stick a bit of the umbilical blood is rubbed on the child's cheeks so that they may become ruddy, just as a little of the first feces is rubbed on the eyebrows to make them grow thick and black, a feature very much esteemed. The Mongoloid birthmark on the skin of the sacral region is also attributed to these first feces. After the hammock and the mosquito bar are taken down, the platform is knocked apart, the tururí cloth is buried, and the midwife, followed by the mother, carries the child to the house.

751 Even before the birth the midwife takes care to scrape genipapo, with which 846 the child is painted from head to toe on the first day, an old custom instituted by the culture hero dyɔiˈ (see p. 128). This is considered an efficient protection against any evil that might befall the newborn infant. It is also the custom to [301] thread small bits of the root of a grass called maˈiˈa-arɨ-ĕuˈpɨ (*periperỹ* [?], "of otter") as beads, tying them around the child's wrist and hand.

846 Father and mother must be cautious and must diet until the umbilical cord drops off. The mother sallies forth from her mosquito bar only to attend to her necessities and to bathe herself with tepid water; both parents eat only small fish, small birds, bananas, and manioc cakes, avoiding all acid foods. Except for going to the river to bathe, the father may not leave the house grounds, and he is for- [826] bidden to touch a firebrand, a paddle, an ax, or a bow. If he touches his bow, the child will develop a crooked spine and become a hunchback.

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The father may drink paiauarú in small quantities, but only if it is sweet; drinking more would make the child a drunkard and would also cause it to cry excessively. Even after the period of restriction the father may not approach his child if he has touched some object that might harm it. At Igarapé de São Jeronymo I was told that the father is not subject to any dietary or other restrictions, provided that he does not touch the child.

The Tukuna, like the Apinayé,[1] believe that the acts of the parents are reflected in their children's health, and vice versa, not only in the period immediately subsequent to birth but also throughout life. Thus, when a sick person submits to treatment by a shaman (pagé) the parents as well as the children must for one week avoid eating salt, peppers, and viscous fish.

Once the umbilical cord has fallen off, it is thrust among the roots of a *pupunheira* tree or, better yet, into a crevice opened by the edge of an ax in the bark of the *tapereba*, since this tree "does not die," even when chopped to pieces. After the birth of a child, the husband avoids his wife for one year, more or less.

Infancy and Childhood

The infant is carried slung across the shoulders in a sling, tipoia (pl. 8, *b*), some ten centimeters wide, which is double, so that the child sits on one strip while the other supports its back. This sling (T., na:-čim[a]) was formerly woven of cotton or tucum fiber, or even at times made of tururí bark cloth. Nowadays it is almost always of purchased material.

Amulets protect the child against disease purely by their magical powers. Thus, the child has the skull, minus the beak, of a *miuá* (*Phalacrocorax vigua*) suspended from its neck so that it shall not fall sick of fever. A necklace of certain seeds with a penetrating odor protects it against catarrh; and the claw of a *tatú canastra* (*Chelonicus gigas*), hung from the wrist, guarantees the child's becoming an expert worker, especially a good canoewright. The Tukuna have not the slightest conception of the "evil eye."

If one goes at night into the dark jungle with a nursling, the infant runs the risk of losing the soul from its body. To prevent this, one must whistle and call the child by name. The tree spirits also like to steal children's souls, as do the water demons called dyë'vaë (see p. 119), which threaten it during its bath in the igarapé; for this reason the mother is accustomed to thrust a magic arrow into the bath water. Children less than two years old crying alone attract the shades of the dead (na-čii'), who separate their souls from their bodies. All these circumstances require the intervention of a shaman. The child receives its name on the day after birth, as already described (p. 60). At the age when they begin to crawl, children are subjected to a ceremony called tę-ta' ęęmat| (paint them), at which they are daubed with red urucú and decorated with feathers plucked from parrots.

Children submit—formerly at the age of two, nowadays at four years or later—to a second festive ceremony called bua tę ta bë'ëru (pluck the children's hair), at which the ears are also pierced and boys have the septum of the nose pierced. Today only the hair is plucked—if, indeed, it is not cut with scissors—and the

[1] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, p. 102.

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apart, which is correlated with their lack of social organization other than blood ties. When drunk they quarrel and often cause injuries and death. In their dealings with the Neo-Brazilians, both parties exhibit their worst qualities. Nevertheless, the *Tucuna* are not unsociable and frequently visit one another and hold festive meetings, when they work collectively for their host. They retain tenaciously their original spiritual culture, although hard work has brought important material improvements. They now have good firearms, tools, clothes, and sewing machines, and they live in financial independence. Some, however, enticed to industrial establishments (rum factories) of the civilized people, become proletarian and then degenerate.

Moieties and clans.—The *Tucuna* are divided into two exogamous, unnamed patrilineal moieties, associated respectively with the east and west. One has 15 unlocalized, patrilineal sibs with tree names; the other has 21 sibs with bird names. Neither the clans nor moieties have outward distinguishing features, except for the private use of certain musical instruments on ceremonial occasions. There is no clear relationship between clan members and their eponym, except that a person's name refers obscurely to certain qualities of the animal or plant, thus revealing his clan. A person is named by his maternal relatives the day after his birth.

The *Tucuna* maintain moiety exogamy with strict inflexibility, and in 1941 still punished violations with death. They regard incest as a sin against the goddess Taé, who punishes it by making one insane during his life and by annihilating his soul after his death.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and childhood.—After coitus, conception depends on Taé, who gives a soul to children. Abortion and infanticide are practiced, especially when the father is a Neo-Brazilian, as the child would be disqualified for sib and moiety membership. Otherwise, it is believed that infanticide is a sin and that Taé punishes the soul of the perpetrator after death.

Childbirth takes place in a temporary shelter prepared in the bush near the house. The newborn child is immediately painted with genipa. Both parents are confined and diet until the umbilical cord drops off. Children are carried in a woven cotton sling passing over a shoulder. Slings are double in part, so that a child sits in one portion while the other supports its back.

When a child begins to crawl, there is a feast in which it is painted with urucú and covered with bits of parrot feathers while the paint is still sticky. At another feast, formerly celebrated when the child was 2 but now when it is 4, its hair is pulled out and its ears pierced. Contrary to certain authors, this operation does not endanger a child's life. About 8 months later there is a supplementary feast when the hair, having grown again, is trimmed, and the relics of the previous feast are burned.